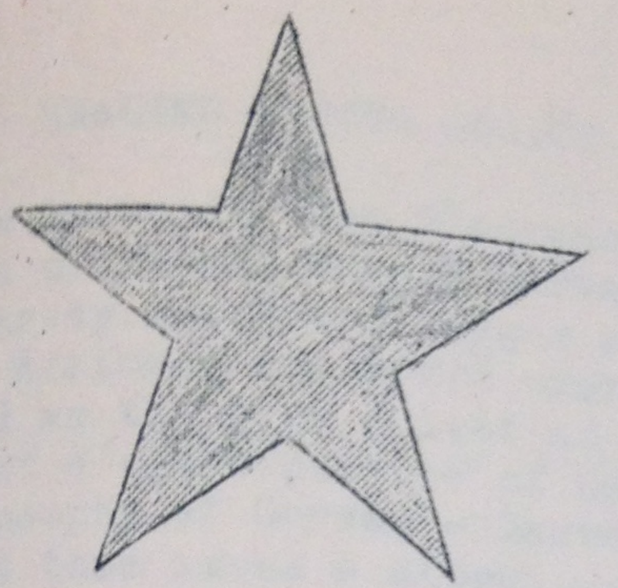
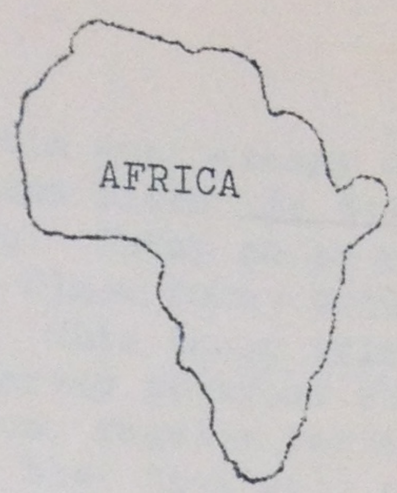
THE BLACKMAN





THE AUTHENTIC VOICE OF GARVEYISM IN JAMAICA

SPECIAL ISSUE IN MEMORY OF,
MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY
BORN 17th AUGUST, 1887,
DIED 10th JUNE, 1940.

ONE GOD
ONE AIM
ONE DESTINY

PUBLISHED BY THE AFRICAN NATIONALIST UNION

EDITOR: MARCUS GARVEY JNR.,
12 Mona Road,
Kingston 6.

A RACE WITHOUT AUTHORITY AND POWER IS A RACE WITHOUT RESPECT
.... Marcus Garvey

REMEMBER YOUR COLOUR AND CLEAVE TO THE BLACK
... Paul Bogle

PRICE 10 Cents JUNE, 1970 Volume 2 No. 5

MWALIMU MARCUS GARVEY SPEAKS:

This issue of "The Blackman" commemorates the 30th anniversary of the death of Marcus Mosiah Garvey. In the thirty years since his death Marcus Garvey has grown larger with the passing years. Today he is recognised by Africans the world over as the orginator of Black Power philosophies and as the High Priest of African Nationalism. This issue tries to present a clear picture of Garvey, the man, the Garvey movement and the philosophy of Garvey - Garveyism. We hope that our regular readers will find this issue a storehouse of information and that they will pass on the facts culled from "The Blackman" to other interested black people. The work that Garvey did in Jamaica will come as a surprise to many, because the Jamaican power structure in their sinister attempts to promote the images of Bustamante and Manley have deliberately played down the activities of my father in this country. When one realises that Marcus Garvey took part in the formation of the first Trade Union in Jamaica, the Printers Union and formed the first political Party, the People's Political Party in 1929, one begins to understand the nature of the propaganda to which Black people are subjected by the pigs of the power structure.

THE EVENTS OF THE 24th May

On the 24th May we of the African Nationalist Union started our march with our placards in our hands and as we headed for the three miles Roundabout to rendezvous with the main body were surrounded by the beasts of Babylon. They seized our placards, arrested brother Priestley and myself and mercilessly beat several members of our organisation. Brother Donald Phillibert was beaten all over his back and his eye-glasses were knocked off his face and trampled by the lice. Brother Caswell Kennedy was beaten so badly in his head that he was hospitalised for two days. While he was lying on the ground, he was trampled by the evil ones and the lice picked his pockets of twelve dollars. The beasts of Harmon Barracks were at their brutal best. They were led by a white bully boy called Owen Stephenson and two big whites - Gordon Langdon, Commissioner of Polic and David Smith, Brigadier - were there to supervise my apprehension. What a lot of attention for a few African freedom fighters who have vowed to beat down Babylon.

When I was arrested I was first taken to Hunt's Bay Police Station and then afterwards spirted off to Matilda's Corner Station. The intention was to keep me incommunicado for as long as possible so that a good period of solitary confinement would dampen my revolutionary ardour The lice lied to my mother and other relatives when they came to bail me at Matilda's Corner Station. They pretended that they did not know where I was although while they were lying, I was locked up in their filthy, stinking cell. This is the way lice behave. On orders from their white superior officers - the pigs - you can be sure.

I have seen white power at work in Jamaica. I have seen at first hand the brutality of Shearer's bully boys from Harmon Barracks. I know now where the sufferers go, every day, every week. The experience makes me more determined than ever to fight against Shearer, Seaga, Micheal Manley, McNeill, Coore and all the other puppets and jokers of the two party system who work to keep the whites, Chinese and Mulattoes in power in this black, African country of Jamaica. Black power for black people Down with the Pigs!

E U L O G I E S

"The lessons which Marcus Garvey taught the Negro- of thrift, unity pride, self-reliance and industry- have taken on greater meaning as the years go by, and his name glows with increasing brilliance, as Negroes everywhere get the message he broke his heart trying to impart to them."

-Evon Blake
New Day magazine.

"The spiritual energy he generated into millions upon millions of the children of God will still keep marching."

-Monsignor Gladstone Wilson.

"What makes a man a NATIONAL HERO? Surely, prosperity, material success or territorial attainment are not the criteria. Personal gain or worldly acclaim are also not the tests. The real test must be the permanence and permeation of the idea the man promulgated. The survival of his philosophy. The spread of his gospel, working like a yeast in the world, long after his death. By these criteria is a national hero judged and recognized. By these has Marcus Mosiah Garvey come into his own as a great son of Jamaica."

-Jamaica Gleaner.
Nov. 15,1964.

"Garvey deified black and gave Negroes a racial consciousness not before attained. When he invaded the United States of America he found 'black' a symbol of regret, excuses and pity; the trade-mark of inferiority. Garvey changed the order of things. He made 'black' the symbol of honour and responsibility.

"Garvey gave something to the Negro which neither time nor place can retrieve. Most of his enemies, particularly those of the Negro Intelligensia now agree that Garvey was essentially right in the fundamentals of his program. They agree now that there can be no real freedom and independence for black men anywhere without MASS ACTION and uncompromising leadership."

-S. A. Haynes.
"Negro World."

"Garvey visualized a free and United Black man's Africa half a century at least before his time. He taught the Negro American to lift his head and look the white man in the eye and not cringe and bow before him in fear. He won the white man's respect, even though the latter felt he must rub him out to preserve WHITE SUPREMACY. I would say that Marcus Garvey in 1918 began the Civil Rights battle."

-Vere Johns.
Jamaica Star.

"In Garvey's day COLOUR WAS CLASS, and the black skin remained at the foot of the social and economic ladder. And what was so appalling was the majority of black Jamaicans accepted this denigration of themselves as a fact of life that could not be changed.

"Garvey created a mass movement that carried the message of hope that black men would cease to despise their black skins, and that they would come to find beauty, dignity and pride and self-respect in their blackness, as much as the white race found in their own white skins.

"They broke him in America. We rejected him in Jamaica. But Garvey's gospel remained imperishable; it grew and flowered as an inspiration to vast masses of people, both black and white, and the coloured mixtures of both, to fight to make his principles of racial equality a living reality in their own homelands.

"For his gospel had a universal significance that reached beyond the Jamaica that gave him birth; beyond the Caribbean that cradled him; beyond America in which his work came to full flowering; reached into Africa, which became the main crucible in which his ideas could be fully tested and his principles applied. Garvey's gospel reached in fact into the great wide world, and added to the sum total of universal human values that make up the civilization of the modern world."

-Frank Hill.
Director, National Trust.

THE IMPACT OF MARCUS GARVEY ON AFRICANS
AS TOLD BY AFRICANS

J.I.G. ONYIA writing in the West African Pilot, November 4, 1960 on the Fighters against Imperialism and oppression, states-

"THE SECOND STAGE of the struggle against imperialism started among the readers of the NEGRO WORLD- a paper published by Marcus Garvey of America. It was an eye-opener to the few educated elements, and others who rebelled against the imperialistic haphazard division of their continent into colonial territories for exploitation by Europeans. Discussion groups were formed.

"Negroes of America were expected to land in Africa under the leadership of Marcus's Group to save the Africans from bondage.

"It was at this time that the West African Congress under the leadership of Sir Caseley Hayford of the Gold Coast (now Ghana) was founded. The late Governor Sir Hugh Clifford described the members as 'Europeanized Africans in the coastal region, who did not represent their people'.

"THE NEGRO WORLD was banned, but some courageous Africans in various walks of life started individually to revolt against the slavish and tyrannical treatment of them by Europeans, who hitherto were regarded as 'Tin gods'. A Civil Servant in the Northern Region shot a European dead in resentment of the treatment meted out to him and shot himself afterwards.

"Henceforth any African employee who was bold enough to protest against ill-treatment by Europeans was marked, shadowed and victimized. Acquisition of higher education was discouraged."

PETER ABRAHAMS, South African Author, writing in "Public Opinion", November 3, 1956, states:-

"Marcus Garvey gave to the Negroes of the twentieth century a sense of self-awareness, a sense of pride and dignity that largely overcame the inferiority complex bred by centuries of racial and colour oppression.

"And since THE FIRST STAGE in any kind of liberation is the LIBERATION OF THE MIND, Marcus Garvey can justly be regarded as a primary source of the great freedom movements in the colonial world today. And that Jamaica honours him shows the extent to which Jamaica has changed."

CHIEF NANA KOBINA NKETSIA, Director of the Institute of Art and Culture in Ghana visited Jamaica, July 1965. In placing a wreath at the shrine of Marcus Garvey, he unloosed his sandals, and with bare feet, he bowed before the tomb, and performed absolution with water and devotion according to his spiritual ritual. Then he said-

"I am pleased to be present at this sacred spot where Marcus Garvey MY INTERNATIONAL LEADER IS enshrined. Seeing you, my brothers and sisters gathered here in your hundreds to pay homage, inspires me to higher endeavour as a noble descendant of a proud African race.

"It urges me not only to play a decisive role and fulfill a destined mission in a modern world, but also to strengthen and build on the ruins of the past a better future for posterity.

"I sincerely believe our mission for freedom is not an accident of history, but the work of Divine Providence, being manifested through the ages. Through UNITY among Africans, the blackman's place in the world is secured for all times, despite misfortunes brought by opposition forces Thanks be to God and Marcus Garvey's teachings for the light that is shining over Africa today, and will always shine."

The Panama Tribune, April 30, 1944, under the caption, "Eboue, French Governor General joins demand of 'AFRICA FOR AFRICANS', stated:-

"ADLOPHE FELIX SYLVESTRE EBOUE, Governor General of French Equatorial Africa, and France's most distinguished Negro, talked proudly in Cairo, last week about the future of the black man in his native continent.

"At last February's trail-blazing French Empire Conferende in Brazzaville, he had served as honorary chairman, and helped promote a policy of 'Africa for the Africans'. Now within the French Empire, the Governor General said optimistically, his people stood on the threshold of full citizenship, even of social and economic equality with whites."

Governor General Eboue attended a conference in Cairo, and it is alleged that he died from food poisoning. The "Pittsburgh Courier' commenting on his death said":-

"By the terms of the armistice, the French politicians in France and North Africa were impotent, and General DeGaulle was merely a refugee in a London which was being shaken to its foundations by savage air raids by Goering's Luftwaffe. Only Felix Eboue' had troops and territory to provide a rallying point for Free Frenchmen .... In the white press one heard everything about DeGaulle, but nothing about Eboue .... Eboue was black, and in the Anglo-American world no black man must become too powerful. Even worse, Eboue had ideas about 'Africa for the Africans', which is a treasonable thought in the minds of the Wall St. and Bank of England crowd that owns Africa and control the administrators who run the continent."

The Chicago Defender" stated:- "Eboue was modern Africa's brightest hope in the welter of intrigue, confusion and misrepresentation that became accentuated with the fall of the French Republic. To Africans, he was more than a bright competent administrator, he was a symbol of eventual REDEMPTION AND AUTONOMY."

Dr. KWAME NKRUMAH of Ghana, made the following admission in his book- "Ghana"- "I think of all the literature I studied, the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was the Philosophy of Marcus Garvey, published by his wife."

In the issue of the English Daily Sketch, November 10, 1919 Leo Walmsley in an article warned the white world about the BLACK PERIL, misquoting a speech of Garvey's to read; "I call upon 400,000,000 blacks to give your blood to make Africa a Republic for the Negro."

MR. R.V. SELOPE- THEMA, Secretary to the South African deputation in Londonat this time, in reply, stated:-

"It is because the white man relies on his military superiority, which modern scientific progress has conferred on him that he has refused or neglected to pay attention to the black man's cry for justice and liberty; and consequently some of the educated black men have been forced, much against their will, to come to the conclusion that what the white man respects, is not constitutional and peaceful appeal, but brute force.

"hence, Mr. Marcus Garvey's threatening appeal to the 400,000,000 Africans to prepare themselves to fight. This 'wild threatening language' comes from a broken heart, that can no longer tolerate the exploitation of Africa and her peoples."

MR. GODFREY BINAISA, Leader of the Uganda Delegation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, held in Jamaica, November 1964, speaking at a Symposium of the Extra-mural department of the University of the West Indies, was reported in the Daily Gleaner of the 17th as follows:-

"Mr. Bianaisa was speaking along with other Delegates from Canada, Nigeria, Malaysis and Tanzania in the symposium on 'New deveploments in Commonwealth countries'. The speaker said that in his youth he was famailiar with the Garvey pamphlet BLACK MAN, which though banned, was still circulated. Garvey's contribution. He said, was to show that the black man could stand up and demand his rights. This was the beginning of the movement of Black Nationalism."

HON. TOM MBOYA in 1963, Minister of Justice, Kenya, East Africa, in a letter to Mrs. Garvey said- "I am delighted to know that you have mailed me your latest book, which I will wait to read with interest and excitement. I have followed very closely the writings and speeches of Marcus Garvey, and believe he made a tremendous contribution at a time when the people were not aware of the Negro heritage."

MR. DENNIS EJINDU, reviewing the book- "Garvey and Garveyism" in the Morning Post, Ghana, February 18, 1966 wrote-

"Garvey's aim was to destroy the conventional inferiority complex of the Negro and prove that the Negro is morethan capable of designing his own future and fortune.

"He was infuriated by the exploitation everywhere of the black man, and therefore decided that the black man should grab a chance to improve his lot, and ultimately to fashion a civilization worthy of human dignity. For this Garvey was feared and hated ny the Governments of Europe and America who hounded and destroyed him.

"But not before Garveyism had intoxicated more than two million followers all over the world, who henceforth re-echoed his theme of 'AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS'.

"He was dubbed a racist, or at best a dreamer. The honesty of the man, the strength of his message, and the popularity of his Cause so overwhelmed the society-climbing Negro intellectuals of America and the West Indies that they joined hands with the negrophobists to ruin him, instead of interpreting him. It is, for instance, lamentable that a man like Dr. E. B. DuBois would condemn and subvert Garvey's back to Africa programme in 1924, only to come back to it in 1960 when he himself returned. What a progress both men would have made if only they had worked together.

"Garvey, however, is dead, but our hope is that we, at least, will remember that he died for the black man. Yet the lessons of Garvey's tragic death remains to be learnt by those so-called pragmatists in African politics. They should, for goodness sake, see themselves now the way we today see the Negro intellectuals in thir opposition to Garvey's idea of AFRICAN UNITY forty years ago."

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH of Ghana, speaking at the closing session of the All-African Peoples Conference in Accra, December 13, 1958, stated in part-

"It has warmed us that so many of our brothers and sisters from across the sea are with us. We take their presence here as a manifestation of the keen interest in our struggle for a free Africa. We must never forget that they are a part of us.

"These sons and daughters of Africa were taken away from our shores, and despite all the centuries which have separated us, they have not forgotten their ancestral links.

"Many of them made no small contribution to the cause of African freedom. A name that springs immediately to mind in this connection is MARCUS GARVEY. Long before many of us were even conscious of our own degradation, Marcus Garvey fought for African national and racial equality"

The Jamaica Star, November 23, 1966 reported as follows:- .

"A delegation from the Universal Negro Improvement Association consisting of Messrs E. E. Whyte, Vin Bennett, J.P: Rev. K. A. Bailey met President Kenneth Kaunda at King's House yesterday morning, and presented him with an address on behalf of the Association.

DR. KAUNDA thanked the delegation, and said how much the teaching of Marcus Garvey, the founder of the U.N.I.A. had helped him to build his NEW NATION. He expressed the hope that the U.N.I.A. would continue in the work to inspire Africans at home to obtain their freedom."

Dr. Kaunda- President of Zambia's slogan is- ONE AFRICA! ONE NATION!

MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY-THE MAN (1887-1940)
by Amy Jacques Garvey
Author of "Garvey & Garveyism"
Editor, "Philosophy & Opinions of
Marcus Garvey".

Many persons have wondered what were the characteristics that made Marcus Garvey a personality to be reckoned with. How is it that this little black man, born in a small island could conceive the idea of redeeming the continent of Africa, and uniting a scattered race.

Heredity in the first instance played an important part in his life. He had a sympathetic heart, and an expansive mind. He was gentle and soft-spoken like his mother, but when provoked, or on a platform, the Maroon blood of his father would boil within him, and he would roar like a lion, in projecting to the world the oppressions, fears, hopes and ambitions of his people.

Into this dynamic personality came ideas, and those ideas repeatedly projected themselves in his mind, until they developed into ideals- something that must be achieved. Must be accomplished, then the driving urge from within forced action.

BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE FULLY FREE

The appalling conditions of his people everywhere cried aloud for a change, as he said in a speech -

"Everywhere I go, I see the poverty, misery and suffering of my people; I ask where is the blackman's government? Where are his States-men? Where is his flag? His battleships and planes to protect him from oppression and wrong? The answer is - there is NONE. And I vowed to help him to free himself, and determine his own destiny; for NATIONHOOD is the highest ideal of all peoples."

Thus he found his purpose in life, and pursued it to the bitter end, without sparing himself and those who were loyal to him. Serving his

race/

race became an obsession with him, and everything else had to fit into his work-wife, children, and relatives must be expendable in this great cause-embodied in his slogan - "Africa for the Africans, those at home and those abroad." His Motto - "One God! One Aim! One Destiny!"

UNEQUAL INTEGRATION HUMILIATES NEGROES

As a solution to "The Negro Problem" in America, Garvey was vigorously opposed to MISCEGENATION - race suicide - as a way out of the political, social and economic thraldom of the black minority. He protested against the plea of Inter-racial organizations for INTEGRATION as a final goal. For, argued he, the Negro is not now equal to the whites - who are in the majority, and in power - in all material phases of life; so that integration, if achieved on a national scale, would be UNEQUAL INTEGRATION, and therefore himiliating to Black Americans during the process, by which they would be absorbed into the white society, and thereby lose their identity, and any distinct contribution they make to the greatness of the nation.

THE MISSION OF THE GARVEY ORGANIZATION

The following are some excerpts from his Philosophy & Opinions, which disclose the workings of the mind of this man -

"The mission of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is to arouse the sleeping consciousness of Negraoes everywhere to the point where, he will, as one concerted body, ACT for our own preservation. By laying the foundation for such we will be able to work toward the glorious realization of an emancipated race and a constructed nation."

"Nationhood is the only means by which civilization can completely protect itself ... It is the highest ideal of any people - to govern themselves. While others are raising the cry for a white America, a white Canada, a white Australia, we, without reservation, raise the cry, and loudly too - for Africa's freedom."

"To fight for African redemption does not mean that we must give up our domestic rights for polotical justice and industrial rights. It does not mean that we must become disloyal to any government, or to any country wherein we were born. Each and every race outside of its domestic national loyalty has a loyalty to itself; therefore, it is foolish for the Negro to talk about not being interested in his own racial, political social and industrial destiny. We can be loyal American citizens, or British subjects as the Irishman or the Jew, and yet fight for the redemption of Africa, and complete emancipation of the race.

PROPHESY OF A FREE AFRICA

"Out of the unsettled state and condition of the world will came such reveolutions that will give each and every race that is oppressed the opportunity to march forward. The last world war brought the opportunity to many heretofore subject races to regain their freedom. The next world war will give Africa the opportunity for which we are preparing. We are going to have wars and rumours of wars. In another twenty or thirty years we will have a changed world-politically and Africa will not be one of the most backward nations, but Africa shall be, I feel sure, one of the greatest commonwealths that will once more hold up the torchlight of civilization, and bestow the blessings of freedom, liberty and democracy upon all mankind.

THE URGENCY OF BLACK POWER

"POWER is the only argument that satisfies man. Except the individual, the race or the nation has power that is exclusive, it means that, that individual, race or nation will be bound by the will of the others who possess this great qualification.

It was the industrial and scientific power of the Teutonic race that kept if for years as dictator of the economic and scientific policies of Europe. It is the naval and political power of Great Britain that keeps her mistress of the seas. It is the commercial and financial power of the United States of America that makes her the greatest banker in the world. Hence it is advisable for the Negro to get power of every kind. POWER in education, science, industry, politics and higher government. That kind of power that will stand out signally, so that other races and nations can see, and if they will not see, then FEEL. Man is not satisfied or moved by prayers or petitions, but every man is moved by that power of authority which forces him to do, even against his will." Thus spoke Garvey in the 1920's.

DID NOT HARBOUR HATE

It is remarkable that he did not harbour hate and bitterness in his heart against those who double-crossed him, turned Government Informers, and others who used the press to make vicious, lying statements against him; especially in the "Garvey must go" campaign in America - launched by his rivals, and which ended in his trial, imprisonment and deporatation. Said he, "If I kept piling up hate in my heart against those who daily seek my destruction, my spirit would be poisoned by it; how then could I love and serve my people? They can destroy my body, but they never will be able to break my will, or suppress my fighting spirit. I have breathed it into the minds of millions of my people the world over. No human agency can stop us. It is the will of God that this race of mine shall determine its own destiny, and take its rightful place as EQUALS among God's children."

PREDICTION FOR THE WEST INDIES

The million dollar question asked by white Reporters from News Agencies and influential newspapers was- "Mr. Garvey how are you going to redeem Africa?" Said he, in the year 1919:-

"Africa will be redeemed - regardless of the armanments of the Imperial powers - by emancipating the MINDS of subjected peoples to realize and know that FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND ACTION are the inherent right of all people; after that free thought will devise ways and means to battle its way to freedom.

"The small European Imperial nations will fight the big powers for more expansion in Africa and Asia; when this happens the peoples of these continents will get the big opportunity to free themselves, as things will be too hot for Europe to hold what she has."

As far back as 1913 Garvey predicated the independence of the West Indies in an article in the "African Times and Orient Review," London, he states:-

"As one who knows the people well, I make no apology for prophesying that there will soon be a turning point in the history of the West Indies and that the people who inhabit that portion of the Western Hemisphere will be the instruments of uniting a scattered race, who before the close of many centuries will found an Empire on which the sun shall shine as ceaselessly as it shines on the Empire of the North today."

HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR - 1968

Time rolls on, and in the year 1968 - Human Rights Year, we find nearly all of the territories of the continent of Africa and the West Indies are independent and represented at the United Nations.

"The Negro problem" in America has become the whiteman's problem - how to stem the tide of BLACK POWER - which is generated by BLACK UNITY The basic power a small minority of oppressed people can achieve, in a majority white nation, that is to take action in their best interests.
THE NEW NEGRO is THINKING FOR HIMSELF, and by himself, and not in terms of being an appendage of a white society; but with the backing of independent nations of his race and kindred spirit.

NUCLEAR POWER is misused to decimate people and destroy countries, but BLACK POWER is generated to protect people from injustices and wrongs. White Supremists cannot tap its source. Although they can destroy some of its Exponents; but it is in every black man, woman and child's heart to get his Human Rights, and to keep it, to maintain it against all odds. It is the spirit of GARVEYISM, it is an IDEAL, a GOAL, a WORKING PHILOSOPHY it MOTIVATES people to great achievements. It is ETERNAL in the breasts of people of African descent everywhere. Thus the indestructible values of Garveyism survive, even after his death. SHINE ON ETERNAL LIGHT!

MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY.

"Come Home
To the hearts of a people that know thee
For thy courage,
Devotion and unrelenting persuasion of
A Righteous Cause.

****

Come Home
Thou Hero of a thousand sallies to the
Frontiers of Dignity,
Equality, and
Pride,
O' dauntless Lion of a depressed and
Unwanted race.

****

Come Home
To the lowly shrubs in robes of green,
To the lovliest flowers eyes had seen
To the distant mountains rising proud,
Tow'ring to kiss each cloud.

****

Come Home, Marcus
A Nation salutes and huddles thee
To her breast."

- George B. Wallace.

UP YOU MIGHTY RACE!!!

GARVEY'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN JAMAICA

by Amy Jacques Garvey

The year 1929 was one of the mast striking and agonizing 365 days of Garvey's stay im Jamaica. Subtle, silent, systematic efforts were made to crush him and destroy his Movement, when he would not heed the overtures of Agents sent to plead with him (for his own good) to give up the fight to change the condition of the black masses.

Legal Rape

In July a default judgment of G.O. Marke- a former Officer of the Parent Body im New York City - was taken up by J. H. Cargill, Solicitor in Jamaica. The hearing was held before Sir Fiennes Barrett Lennard, Chief Justice, who gave judgment and ordered the sale of all the properties and assets of the Parent Body U.N.I.A., incorporated, unincorporated, also the local branches in Jamaica. Despite the fact that an appeal was pending everything was sold.

During the hearing the Chief Justice fined Garvey twenty five pounds (sterling) for not producing the books of the local branch, which books Garvey did not have in his possession. The Local U.N.I.A. won the appeal and the Goverrmment had to refund the Branch the price paid for their Liberty Hall at the Auction sale, which was below market value. But Garvey got nothing for all the assets of the various auxiliary units sold by order of the Chief Justice.

The Isaiah Morter case was going through the courts of Belize, British Honduras, on to England on appeal. Mr. Morter - a black patriot- left his estate to the U.N.I.A. "For African Redemption". This the Colonial Office (through the local Judiciary) said was for "illegal purposes", and despite the thousands of pounds spent for Barristers, and Court fees, the Parent Body and Garvey never got the legacy. Garvey and the movement were stripped financially, but their spirit was never broken so they held the Sixth International Convention in Jamaica, and Delegates heralded to the world a defiance that whatever mortal men did to hamper the struggle, the spirit of Garveyism would prevail.

PEOPLES POLITICAL PARTY MANIFESTO

Feeling the mighty hand of Imperialism clothed in legal authority, Garvey decided to form a political party, in order to change conditions. He nd his colleagues named it "The Peoples Political Party." In 1929 they issued a Manifesto.

In the Municipal elections they won three seats, they had one in the Legislative Council. They now decided to run 12 candidates, one for each parish, for the general elections to the Legislatice Council. The following are the planks of their platform, which were printed on hand-bills also in The Blackman.

"If elected, I shall do everything in my power... to make effective the following:-

1. Representation to the Imperial Parliament for a larger modicum of self government.

Contd.
2. Protection of native labour.

3. A minimum wage for the labouring and working classes of the island.

5. A law to compel the emplayment of not less than 60 percent of native labour in all industrial, agricultural and commercial activities engaged in, in this island.
6. The expansion and improvement of city, town or urban areas without the incumberance or restraint of private proprietorship.
7. An eight hour working day throughout Jamaica.
8. A law to encourage the promotion of native industries.
9. Land reform.
10. A law to impeach and imprison judges, who, with disregard for British justice and constitutional rights, dealt unfairly.
11. A Jamaica University and Polytechnic.
12. The establishing of a Government High School in the capital town of each parish, for the supply of free secondary education. Attached to the said High School to be a night continuation school to facilitate those desiring to study at night, in order to advance their education.
13. A public library in the capital town of each parish.
14. A National Opera House, with an Academy of Music and Art.
15. Prison Reform.
16. The compulsory improvement of urban areas from which large profits are made by trusts, corporations, combines and companies.
17. The appointment of official court stenograppgers to take official notes of all ccurt proceedings in the Supreme Court, Resident Magistrates Courts and Petty Session Courts of the island.
18. The creation of a Legal Aid Department to render advice and protection to such persons who may not be able to have themselves properly represented and protected in the courts of law.
19. A law for the imprisonment of any person who by duress or undue influence would force another person to vote in any public election, against his will, because of obligation or employment or otherwise.
20. The granting to the townships of Montego Bay and Port Antonio the corporate rights of cities.
21. A Law to empower the Government to secure a loan of three million (or more) pounds from the Imperial Government, or otherwise, to be used by the Government, under the management of a deparment of the Director of Agriculture in developing the Crown Lands of the island, agriculturally, and otherwise, with the object of supplying employment for our surplus unemployed population, and to find employment for stranded Jamaicans abroad; and that the Government purchase such ships as are necessary from time to time, to facilitate the marketing of the produce gathered from these crown lands, and at the same time conveniently offering an opportunity to other producers to ship and market their produce.
22. The beautifying and creating of the Kingston Race Course into a National Park, similar to Hyde Park in London.
23. The establishment by the Government of an electrical system to supply cheap electricity to such growing and prospering centres as are necessary.
24. A law to establish clinical centres from which trained nurses are to be sent out to visit homes in rural districts and to teach and demonstrate sanitary and better health methods in the care of home and family.
25. A law to empower the Parochial Boards of each parish to undertake under the direction of the Central Government the building of model sanitary homes for the peasantry by the system of easy payments to cover a period of from ten to twenty years.

Contd.

26. A law to prevent profiteering in the sale of land in urban and suburban areas to the detriment of the expansion of healthy home life for citizens of moderate means - profiteering such as is indulged in, in lower St. Andrew by heartless land sharks.

Prison for Contempt of Court

As leader of the party Garvey spoke at Cross Roads square on the 10th September 1929, presented the manifesto, and elaborated on all proposed reforms. A few days later he was arraigned in court on a second contempt charge, before the same Chief Justice, and two other Judges. The basis of the charge was the tenth plank of the manifesto. He was found guilty and sentenced to three months imprisonment, and a fine of one hundred pounds. He served the prison term at the Spanish Town prison, as a "First Class Misdemeanant."

To Ring in Changes

On release from prison he only had a couple of weeks to campaign and without funds. Here are a few points he made:-

Workers should be insured against sickness and accidents while employed.. The earning capacity of the workers must be increased, which will benefit all classes of society. In this way workers will be able to spend more, by earning more...

No encouragement is being given to the natives to foster and promote industries. The result is that Jamaica has grown up to be a country of CONSUMERS. Out of our bye-products of agriculture we produce nothing. We import shoes, clothes, hats etc., when most of these things could be made right here. Canning and tanning factories would be a great encouragement to the farmers in the country parishes, whose surplus fruit go to waste, and the skins of the animals bring little or nothing.

"My opponents say I am against white and fair-skinned prople. This is not so. I am against the class system here, which keeps the poor man down, and the poor are mostly black people. It is only natural, therefore, that their interest should be nearest and dearest to my heart ... Let us all work together as fellow Jamaicans, and ring in the changes for a NEW JAMAICA."

When the election returns were announced, Garvey was a shocked and grieved man. However, he went through the parishes and thanked those who had voted for his party. Said he- "My speeches and utterances were recorded with the hope of sending me back to prison... You were told not to vote for Garvey as he would become too powerful: But under the party system a man is as powerful in a Legislature as his party, which derives its power from the voters; and intelligent voters cast their votes not merely because they like him, but because he is bound by the party's plan for betterment?.....

"The voters have turned back the clock of progress for another ten years, but party system is well established in your minds, and it will come, it is bound to come."

Garvey Lost, but Rum and Human Depravity still Winning. In a letter dated February 1, 1930, reproduced in the Negro World, A. Wesley Atherton commented on the campaign thus:-

Contd.

"Rum and Human depravity blocked the path of Marcus Garvey. The terrible reverse which he recived at the polls was due in no sense whatever to lack of organization. With the limited means at his command, his campaign could not have been better organized. He has lost in what was almost a rum war, a money scramble. With the bait dangling before their gaze - the red linen of filthy lucre- Negro sons of African slaves in this enlightened age voted away their birthright, and suffered themselves to be indetured for another five years under conditons that have sucked their vitals to the very bone. They traded on the future happiness of their children, and trampled their manhood into the dust. With the whip of the slave master still cracking in their ears, they followed the stream of molten gold down the hills of St. Andrew to vote against Marcus Garvey.

"They stabbed him fiercely in the back, and while now recovering from that brutal wound, he stands before the bar of public opinion, facing the charges of his traducers, those who can, must help, and those of us who cannot, must weep.

"But the mournful dirge of the Peoples Political Party, not Garveyism, will not be sung in this generation, nor in the next. It shall synchronize only with the passage of time into eternity. Both causes are immortal, and must survive all human, material barriers and impositions. Marcus Garvey has secured a wider niche in the hall of fame. "

ACTIVITIES IN KINGSTON & ST. ANDREW CORPORATION

In October 1929 Garvey was elected to the Kingston & St. Andrew Corporation Council, but having to serve three months in prison on the second contempt charge, he was unable to take the Oath and function as a Councillor. He applied for leave, it was denied by a majority of one, but the Lawyer for the Corporation ruled that it was discretionary. Garvey took his seat on release from prison, then some of the Councillors manoeuvred again to unseat him, but they finally lost out.

Charge for Seditious libel

Arising out of the under-hand tactics used to keep him out of the Council, an article was written in "The Blackman" in which it stated in part:- "The Corporation is entirely opposed to the welfare of the country and is bereft of common decency, not to say dignity, and common sense. It is true our faith in the local administration of affairs is sorely tried; perhaps we should not be, but our confidence in British fairplay is not upheld by the manifestations we behold day by day...

Garvey T. Aikman, Editor, and Coleman Beecher, Circulating Manager, were brought before the court for seditious libel. Although Aikman admitted writing the editorial in question, and Garvey did not see it, as he was travelling in the parishes, the same Chief Justice acquitted Beecher, he referred to Aikman" as the tool of Garvey," and sentenced him to three months imprisonment. Garvey, he said was criminally responsible, and sentenced him to six months imprisonment. Garvey and Aikman appealed, at great costs, but the appeal was allowed. So ended the third charge of contempt.

Later on a special commission was appointed to probe the affairs of the City Council. On the grounds of their findings that body was dissolved.

Formed the Workers and Labourers Association

Unable to do anything for the parishes as he was not in the Legislative Council, and being hampered in the Corporation Council in getting his resolutions through, and put into practical use, Garvey, in June 1930 formed the WORKERS AND LABOURERS ASSOCIATION, to see what organized effort could do on thir behalf.

He led a deputation to the Governor, asking him to investigate the distressing conditons of the masses of the island, and to use his influence towards remedial measures. Nonchalantly the Governor replied that in his opinion there was "No unusual suffering."

Garvey's next move was to draw up a petition to the King, through the Colonial Office, and he sent copies to Labour Members of Parliament, other liberal-minded men, and newspaper Editors in England. The result was the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the political and economic conditions of the West Indies. At the end of September he held a monster mass metting in Kingston at Coke Chapel steps (the outdoor forum) to tell the people the good news.

Mr. J. Denniston, Treasurer of the Workers and Labourers Association presided, and introduced Garvey. He complimented the people on their good behaviour during the times of provocation, strain and misery; and outlined the matters to be brought to the attention of the members of the Royal Commission.

Resolutions for City Reforms

During the time he served the Municipality the following is one of the most far-reaching resolutions he put forward, and of course he was out-voted:-

"Be it resolved that the Council, for the purpose of carrying out civic improvements - particularly involving better water supply, better lighting, installing of proper sewarge system, improvements to slum areas, building a Town Hall, erecting new Fire Brigade Station, laying out recreation grounds, and all such works of magnitude that may be necessary as improvements within the Corporate Area - approach Government for the purpose of securing the necessary authority to float a local loan of five hundred thousand pounds, in order to undertake the carrying out of these improvements immediately.

"Particularly as a means of relieving the present and continuing state of umemployment and hardships among the people. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the City Engineer be requested to prepare plans and estimates involving the general costs of all these improvements, for the guidance of the Council in laying before the Government the manner in which the amount asked for willbe spent.

"In speaking on the motion he said that the depression was being felt in the big cities of Europe, England and the United States of America. Their Statesmen did not ignore it, in fact, they dare not, so, with initiative and palnning they put into effect me sures to alleviate same - the dole, relief works, feeding of school children, old age pensions etc., "The Legislative Council instead of tackling our problems at this level ignore them, and continue their individual narrow policy of getting

bridges/

bridges built, a stretch of road repaired or a water tank erected. Let us set them an example in sensible planning, and make the people of Kingston and St. Andrew happy.

"Some of us will ask where is the money to come from. It is right here in Jamaica. Just recently I read in the newspapers that a man died and left 650,000 pounds. There are many planters, merchants and business men who have m de their maoney here, and are wealthy; but alive or dead, they do nothing to benefit the people of their communities. They have no national spirit; but they could be asked to subscribe to a loan for DEVELOPMENT, for which they would be paid interest. This act would also ease their consciences."

The opposing arguments were that such Socialist planning had lost the Labour Party an election. They did not intend to assume big responsibilities as they could hardly manage what they had in hand. Put to the vote the motion was lost. It was grievous to Garvey that Legislators in both councils refused to legislate for a BETTER JAMAICA, from the grass-roots up; but he warned them that one day these docile people will rise up in the power of their wrath, and tear down the barriers that keep them- the lower classes - down.

The political and economic reforms that he suggested in Jamaica set the pattern for all the other Caribbean territories. He was the Pioneer, Reformer and Prophet.

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HAIL MARCUS GARVEY'

Now proud Jamaica lauds its native son
Who first among the men of Africa's race
Did strive to give to Negroes all a place
Of pride and honour-mighty task begun
In early life, and dying left undone;
A task to lift the black man from disgrace
And show him proud and confident of face,
Ashamed of nothing, servient to none.

Sleep on Mosiah, in your country's breast,
The sun of glory shines on you again:
A nation proud salutes your honoured shade
And rears a noble shrine to give you rest
After a life of sacrifice and pain.
Marcus, all hail! Accept this accolade!

- C. A. B. Jamaica.

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AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS THOSE AT HOME AND THOSE ABROAD. - MARCUS GARVEY.

BLACK POWER FOR BLACK PEOPLE!

GARVEYISM - THE HIGHEST FORM OF BLACK POWER AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM.

By Mwalimu Marcus Garvey, Jnr., B.A., LL.B., B.Sc.

"All of us may not live to see the higher accomplishment of an African Empire - so strong and powerful, as to compel the respct of mankind, but we in our life-time can so work and act as to make the dream a possibility within another generation? These were the words of the great teacher and exponent of African Nationalism, Marcus Mosiah Garvey Throughout his life, Marcus Garvey worked ceaselessly for the racial reconstruction of the African people. He fought for African power, African dignity, African authority. His whole ideology was permeated by his intense love of his race. He never wavered; he never faltered. He was the complete African Nationalist.

It is logical in these times to begin on article on Garveyism with the great teacher's concept of the Black God. Recently the young Black Power activists in Trinidad cried out in their revolutionary zeal - God is Black. Marcus Garvey would have readily understood the thinking of these radicals. He made it clear that we should see our God through the spectacles of Ethiopia; this did not mean that there exists anywhere a black man who is a God, but rather that the symbolism of our churches, mosques and temples should reflect the African characteristics of the people/to envisage God, Christ, the angels in who worship there. For a race of people physical form other than their own, is for that race to admit to the world that they are not really the children of God. For the Garveyite this is an impossibility. We are certain that we are God's chosen people and have a date with destiny.

Marcus Garvey, together with Archbishop McGuire, created almost 50 years ago, the African Orthodox Church - the Church of the Black Christ and the Black Madonna. This was done because the great teacher realised the need for a militant church to promote and nurture African Nationalism and at the same time to preserve the faith of the people in their true God - the God of Africa and the Black Race. He said, "We Negroes believe in the God of Ethiopia, the everlasting God - God the Father God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, the one God of all ages. That is the God in whom we believe, but we shall worship Him through the spectacles of Ethiopia."

The next great concept of Garveyism is the principle of Black Awareness. Marcus Garvey emphasised that the African people must become familiar with their glorious past, their magnificient heritage, and the rich culture of their ancestors. He gave the lie to the white falsifiers of history, who were always pretending that the Bkack Man had no past and who were anxious to portray the great empires of Africa's golden age as the work of various fictional people who looked like nothing on God's earth. "To read the histories of the world, peoples and races, written by white men, would make the Negro feel and believe that he never amounted to anything in the creation. History is written with prejudices, likes and dislikes; and there has never been a white historian who ever wrote with any true love or feeling for the Negro ..." The reason for the distortion of history by the white enemies of the Black race is not hard to find. If they were to admit that the ancient glories of Egypt, Nubia and Ethiopia were the glories of the black race, they would be forced to admit that which their ancestors were howling savages our ancestors were the most civilized people in the world - the lords of creation.

This would be a bitter pill for the white pig to swallow; hence his lies, deceit and subterfuge. Black man know thyself, and walk the land straight and proud.

Marcus Garvey is today considered throughout Black America as the father of Black Pride. He emphasised more than anyone else, before or since, that black is beautiful. He enjoined the African woman to take the kinks out of her mind and not the kinks out of her hair. He made certain that the black businesses which he helped to establish produced black dolls for black children to play with. He was stern and unyielding in his dislike of miscegenation. He rejected the idea that a black man should take a white or yellow woman as his wife. The proper mate for the African lord was the African lady. This was African Nationalism at its best. How degenerate and disgusting are the multiracial perverts who seek to impose a wholesale bastardy on our glorious African race in the name of inter-racial love! The true African nationalist follows the teachings of Marcus Garvey and rejects this perversion. Black love for black people!

Marcus Garvey never allowed white people, or for that matter any people of alien race, to join the U.N.I.A., the vehicle which he created for black emancipation. In fact, no black man could hold office in the organisation if he were married to a woman of another race. The constitution of the U.N.I.A. is proof of this. Marcus Garvey clearly understood that there must be a wall past which they cannot see, a door to which they have no key. This basic principle of Black Power black institutions under black leadership - has been repeated time and time againby Stokely Carmichael and the other contemporary Black activists. We all understand the need to keep the alien out. The black man cannot seek salvation under non-black leadership. Only an African can lead the children of God to the New Jerusalem. Certainly we cannot enter the closed institutions of the Jews, the Chinese or the Indians; there is no earthly reason why they should want to enter ours.

"I know no national boundary where the Negro is concerned, the whole world is my province until Africa is free." Thus spoke the African Nationalist, Marcus Garvey. He sought for his race unity at all levels in local communities, at the national level and in the international sense. He spoke of a United States of Africa fifty years ago, and Kwame Nkrumah got his ideas of pan-Africanism from the teachings of Marcus Garvey. Garvey's famous poem - Hail United States of Africa! - intimates the prophetic vision of the great teacher and philosopher. He consciously worked for the creation of a Greater Africa, that is an African Empire and Commonwealth, a great Union of Race. In that immortal document African Fundamentalism, he says, "Remember, we live, work and pray for the establishment of a great and binding racial hierarchy, the founding of a racial empire whose only natural, spiritual and political limits shall be God and Africa, at home and abroad."

At this time, when we live in the age of the massive monoliths - the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China - the thinking of Garvey is more relevant than ever before. The only way our race can survive in the world of today and tomorrow is to create a great federation of race - the Greater Africa. This mighty black monclith will be able to equip itself with the nuclear armoury, the battle fleets and air armodas which are the necessary uncomitants of Black Power in the proper sense of the term.

History has dealt kindly with Marcus Garvey, although the contemporary world of the privileged vermin villified and attacked him. But the journalistic scum who led the onslaught have long been forgotten while the image of the great prophet and teacher grows larger with the passing years. There is no better way to close an article on my late father than with my favourite exhortation. Power to the African Race! Power to the Black People! Death and damnation for the enemies of Africa!

THE UNIVERSAL ETHIOPIAN ANTHEM

Ethiopia, thou land of our fathers,
Thou land where the gods love to be,
As storm clouds at night sudden
gathers
Our armies come rushing to thee.
We must in the fight be victorious
When swords are thrust outward to
glean
For us will the vict'ry be glorious
When led by the Red, Black and Green.

CHORUS. Advance, advance to victory,
Let Africa be free;
Advance to meet the foe
With the might
Of the Red, the Black and
the Green.

Ethiopia, the tyrant's falling,
Who smote thee upon thy knees,
And thy children are lustily calling
From over the distant seas.
Jehovah, the Great One has heard us,
Has noted our sighs and our tears,
With His Spirit of Love He has
stirred us
To be One through the coming years.

CHORUS. Advance, Advance.

Oh Jehovah, Thou God of the ages
Grant unto our sons that lead
The wisdom Thou gave to Thy sages
When Israel was sore in need.
Thy voice thro' the dim past has
spoken,
Ethiopia shall stretch forth her
hand
By Thee shall all fetters be broken
And Heav'n bless our dear mother-
land.

CHORUS. Advance! Advance!

OH AFRICA AWAKEN

Oh Africa awaken!
The morning is at hand,
No more art thou forsaken
Oh bounteous Motherland.
From far thy sons and daughters
Are hast'ning back to thee,
Their cry ring o'er the waters
That Africa shall be free.

CHORUS: Oh Africa awaken!
And hear thy children
cry,
Oh Africa awaken!
To God lift up thine eyes.

Oh bright and glorious country
From whence the sons of God,
Were called to foreign boundry
To bear the chast'ning rod.
Torn from thy blessed shelter,
We all have suffered loss,
Beneath the lash to welter,
And made to bear the cross.

CHORUS: Oh Africa awaken!

Oh land of tropic splender,
Of bright blue skies above,
To thee our best we tender,
Oh land of light and love.
Some day we'll know thy story,
We'll drink thy cup of mirth,
Revive thine ancient glory,
And bring the gods to earth.

CHORUS : Oh Africa awaken!

The two songs (Oh Africa awaken) and "Ethiopia, thou land of our Fathers" are eternally associated with the Garvey movement. At the time when the songs were written, the country now called Ethiopia was known as Abyssinia. The reference, therefore is to Ethiopia as the ancient name for the whole of Africa and not specifically to a single country by that name. As long as Garveyism exists, these great songs will be sung. The immortal "Ethiopia ...." was intended by Marcus Garvey to be the national anthem for the entire African race.

THE BLACKMAN